CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

An American's children at

SCHOOL IN CHINA

US TRADE BAN WILL NOT CRIPPLE CHINA

NEW CHINA'S COOPERATIVES

ROSE YARDUMIAN

EDITORIALS:

CHINA'S POSITION IN THE UN

MAO'S DIRECTIVE TO THE PLA

DECEMBER 10, 1949 **JMP 1,500**

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

To The Editor:

Russia was a military, feudalistic, imperialistic nation where landlords oppressed the workers and peasants before the October Revolution. During the 19th century, many advanced elements who were not content with the actions of Tsarist Russia carried out revolutionary movements, but they were not successful. It remained for the Communist Party of Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin to organize the revolutionary energy of the great Russian proletariat to defeat the enemies at home and abroad.

The successful revolution pointed out a liberated and broad road for all men of the world and opened a new road for mankind. The October Revolution told us that people of colonial and semi-colonial countries who want to be liberated must look to the Communist Party and working class for leadership. The Communist Party of China accepted the revolutionary experiences of the USSR and under the leadership of Mao Tze-tung, our revolution has succeeded.

In celebrating the October Revolution, we must consider the following. First, we must continue to learn from the Soviet Union, which has already eliminated all exploitation and has exerted its utmost efforts in rehabilitating and developing production, and has abrogated all unequal treaties which were the rule during Tsarist days.

Today China's revolution brings New Democracy. It has taken the capitalist countries nearly 100 years to build up their industries, but the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party has industrialized in 30 years. Since we want to construct China quickly, we must learn from the USSR

Second, we must unite with the USSR and the new democratic countries under the banner of peace. Since both China and the Soviet Union are aiming at raising the standard of living of all their peoples, we can work together, and can obtain real assistance from the USSR. But with imperialistic countries, on the contrary, we can gain nothing and in fact would undergo great losses.

Third, we must continue to endure suffering and difficulties to clean up the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries with all speed and to carry out our revolution to the end.

LIN PAO-TEH

Hwangyen, Chekiang
November 26, 1949.

NEW "PARADISE"

To The Editor:

Many changes are taking place in Hangchow. Just recently I witnessed a street incident in which two bicycles collided. One cyclist was a PLA soldier, the other a civilian whose bicycle was damaged. Both the soldier and civilian were to blame for the accident for neither could ride well and at a cross street they couldn't avoid running in to each other. The soldier courteously apologized to the civilian. The latter being a smart fellow took advantage of this. He asserted his innocence and demanded payment for repairs. The soldier knew he was being cheated, but he did not argue and complied with the unreasonable request on the spot. He accompanied the civilian to a bicycle repair stand, paid the fee and rode away without uttering a word of complaint.

Some of the spectators witnessing the scene complained against the cunning civilian for his false charge. I heard one of them murmur feelingly that times have changed. Without doubt he had in mind the days in the past when men in uniform bullied the common people. Now it happened vice versa! What a striking contrast between the well-behaved PLA soldiers and the unscrupulous KMT soldiers. This serves to show why the Liberation War has come to a quick victory.

The other day I paid a visit to Ling-Yin, the most famous scenic spot here. I was surprised to see no monks when I first arrived and I learned that all the temples were being used for training centers, where the monks are receiving technical training to make them useful. The temples have lapsed into quite a desolate state. No puffs of smoke from incense can be seen and no candles or oil lamps burn. Clay figures are bedraggled and covered with thick dust. A beam of the main temple collapsed some months ago and has not been repaired.

Hangchow has assumed an entirely new appearance. The streets are swept regularly. They never were so clean as now. Citizens here all seem to be aware of the great epoch and are trying their best to be worthy of it. The People's City Government of Hangchow issued an order recently that all bicycles and richshaws must have lamps at night.

(Continued on page 32)

NOTICE

Recently a number of letters have been received which did not bear proper names and return addresses. While the Review has no hesitancy in publishing letters, regardless of their political, economic or other views, so long as they are of interest, it will not publish letters from writers unwilling to sign their names. As in the past the Review is prepared to protect the identity of writers, being willing to publish letters over assumed names. However, the editor must know the name and address of the writer.

Readers will, we feel sure, realize that this is a necessary requirement. Otherwise, special interests of one sort or another may try to take advantage of the letters columns of the Review to propagandize for or against a particular viewpoint. Honest opinions, no matter whether they are favorable to or in opposition to the views of the editor, will receive adequate space, but the Review cannot be a party to one-man campaigns, in which numerous letters are written by the same individual, or individuals, but which purport to represent public opinion by the device of affixing false names and addresses to the envelopes.

If you wish to see your letter in print, enclose your name and address. However, if you do not wish your name to be published, say so, but enclose the pen name which you desire to use.—Editor.

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Vol. 116 Shanghai, Saturday, December 10, 1949 No. 2

CHINA'S POSITION IN THE UN

ACCORDING to Dr. Philip Jessup, US delegate to the United Nations, the American government is "gravely concerned" over the situation in China, fearing that the country is on the verge of being partitioned by a foreign power—Soviet Russia—and is therefore anxious for members of the UN to subscribe to a general "hands off" policy toward China.

Dr. Jessup stated that evidence presented by T. F. Tsiang, the Kuomintang delegate to the UN, and "other reports" received by the American government "create grave cause for concern that ground work is in fact being laid for a further Russian attempt to dismember China."

He said that while the US had agreed at Yalta to give the Soviet Union certain limited rights at Dairen and in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railway, it was never the American government's thought that the Soviet Union would so expand these rights as to seek to obtain complete control of the Dairen area and the railways, "or to establish puppet regimes in the northern provinces of China."

* * *

THE first thing which occurs to us after reading press accounts of these proceedings at the UN is the rather marked development of America's China policy in the few short months since the issuance of the White Paper. While that document clearly set forth the anti-People's Government attitude of the US, it also showed that although the US was fed up with the KMT, Washington lacked a definite, clear-cut China policy.

Now, however, it is apparent that Washington has formulated a policy of active hostility toward the new regime in this country. While earlier indications, such as the addition of China to the export ban list, have not been lacking, there now can be no further doubt but what a definite policy—one of flat opposition—has been decided upon.

It is interesting to note that while the White Paper said the American government was unable to find evidence that the Chinese Communists had received Russian aid, and attributed the KMT defeat to the latter's own rottenness and ineptitude, Dr. Jessup now says that the US has evidence that Russia has violated its treaty obligations and is in the process of dismembering China. The source of this evidence, he says, consists of reports submitted by the KMT—whose word the State Department now appears willing to accept for the first time—and "other reports" in the possession of the American government.

* * *

WHAT, one may wonder, is the purpose of this demonstrated hostility and the many recent attempts to put the new regime upon the defensive? Presumably, it is all part of the cold war and also an attempt to make life as difficult as possible for the new regime. However, there is one particular possibility which we believe bears examining.

The US has made no secret of the fact that she has long been trying to find a "strong" and "stable" country in this part of the world to support and boost for leadership of Asia. There was a time when some observers thought Japan might be that country. However, Japan's fast expansion brought her interests in the Pacific into conflict with those of the United States. The result of this clash we all know. During the war years there was much talk about how China would be the ideal nation to take over the role of leadership in Asia once Japan had been defeated.

A "united, peaceful and democratic China," was, we believe, the phrase. However, this idea had to be jettisoned since Kuomintang China was unable to fulfill any of these requirements, although she got plenty of advice and a great deal of aid from Washington.

It now looks to us as if the State Department had about decided to shift its support to India in an attempt to make that country play the role in the Far East which America in previous years had hoped that Japan, and then China, might perform.

Prime Minister Nehru has just concluded a triumphal tour of America. India has recently received a number of small monetary grants from the World Bank. Additional funds are reported in the offing from America. The Indian Constitution, called a model and compared with the American Constitution, was passed last week with much fanfare and talk of democracy, despite the fact that a few thousand Indians are at present jailed on political charges.

The most interesting of all such indications of the new interest in India was a press report on November 27 quoting a letter to the editor appearing in the *New York Times*, in which the writer suggested that India be given a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. After discussing India's many responsibilities in Asia and the burdens of leadership in this part of the world, the writer said:

"I am aware that China is one of the permanent members of the Council and, therefore, to claim for India the same seat might raise some awkward questions, but it must be admitted that China is at present going through a

period of revolution and uncertainty which has given rise to legitimate doubts as to her ability to contribute to the deliberations of the Council—at any rate for some time to come."

This, we believe, indicates clearly the immediate goal toward which State Department policy is aimed. Now that China has a government which the American government doesn't like, what would be more natural than to shift the emphasis to India, bestowing upon her those favors formerly destined for Kuomintang China and attempting to allot to her those United Nations powers now held by Kuomintang China.

If we understand the full implications of trying to do China out of her Security Council seat—which would mean this country's loss of the veto power—by transferring her position to India, we may be able to make some sense out of the recent complaining and lamenting attitude of the State Department toward China.

Dr. Jessup says there is "grave concern" over whether or not China is master in her own house. The State Department is worried over the way things are being run by the new regime and manages, upon one ground or another, to make regular protests to Peking and to keep the US press filled with anti-new China stories.

Meanwhile India is being built up as the obvious candidate for leadership of Asia. Thus it appears as if the basis is being laid for an attempt to repeat in Asia the scheme used in Eastern Europe: The setting up of an anti-communist, anti-Russian state as spokesman in the United Nations for a regional area, regardless of the country's real position in that particular part of the world.

Tito's Yugoslavia is now accorded precedence in the United Nations over the other Eastern European countries and, despite the objections of these countries, is considered the area's spokesman, receiving most committee posts reserved for Eastern European countries.

It looks as if a similar device to reduce even further the voice in the United Nations of the socialist countries is being attempted by robbing China of her position as one of the Big Five and as Asia's spokesman, replacing her with India, a country which the State Department apparently finds more to its liking.

KEEP A COMPLETE FILE OF THE REVIEW

Now, more than ever, the Review provides the best way of maintaining a complete file of important developments in China. Recent issues have contained such important textual materials as the list of the new officials of the Central People's Government, the text of Liu Shao-chi's speech on Sino-Soviet friendship, the text of the Organic Law of the Chinese PPCC, the text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Republic and many other important documents relating to the establishment of the new government in China.

If you are missing any issues from your file, let us know and we will do our best to supply them. In the days to come, the significance of current developments in China will become more and more apparent. The best way to maintain a complete, handy source of reference is to keep your files of the Review complete. The Review today is the only English-language publication carrying texts of these documents and important speeches, as well as worthwhile articles reflecting developments during this formative period in China's history.

MAO'S MESSAGE TO THE PLA

THIS week Mao Tze-tung, in his capacity as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee, issued a directive to the army, calling upon the nation's soldiers to engage in productive activity during the coming year so as to lighten the government's financial burden and to speed up the reconstruction of the country.

Chairman Mao reviewed the military situation, pointing out that aside from a few fronts where the troops have yet to eliminate the enemy, the PLA is entering a period of intensified training. "The People's Revolutionary Military Committee," he said, "hereby calls upon all the rank and file of the PLA, with the exception of those who are still required to continue active military service, to contribute their bit towards the production program for 1950, so that the PLA will not be merely a national defense army but also a production army, to assist the people to overcome difficulties left over from long periods of war and to speed up the economic recovery under New Democracy."

Pointing to the economic disruption and the general hardships resulting from the war, Mao stated that the government was at present confronted with a deficit because of the stupendous sums required to carry on the war to a finish, to heal the wounds of war and to embark upon economic, cultural and national defense reconstruction projects. "To overcome these difficulties," he continued, "the primary thing is for the people in the whole country gradually to rehabilitate and develop production under the leadership of the Central People's Government, while the PLA should also play its role in this program in order to cooperate with the people to surmount these difficulties."

Such cooperation, he said, will not only conquer difficulties, reduce the government's expenditures and improve the lives of the troops but "will at the same time improve the political quality of the troops and the relations between officers and men and between the troops and the people through labor."

Outlining the nature of the work, Mao said, "The PLA's participation in production, however, is not of a temporary nature, but should have a long-range reconstruction plan as the starting point. The center of gravity for such production work should be put on enhancing the wealth of society and the nation through manual labor. . . . The production lines should be limited to agriculture, pasturage, fishery, river conservancy, handicrafts, various kinds of building projects, industries and transportation."

In conclusion Chairman Mao warned that this did not mean that the PLA was to engage in business. If any of the cadres had ideas of smuggling, cornering of markets, speculating or in other ways seeking overly large profits, they must speedily rectify their thinking. Such ideas, he said, were not only contrary to correct policy but would tend to disturb the nation's

economy and to attach a stigma to the PLA. Therefore, such activities could not be tolerated.

* * *

WHILE the significance of this speech is readily apparent, it can be more fully appreciated if one looks back a few short months to the days when the Kuomintang was still in our midst.

Chairman Mao says that beginning next year the PLA is to commence a full scale program of productive work. Actually, when compared to the pattern of soldier behavior to which we have in the past been accustomed, the PLA has already been engaged in productive work. A walk in the countryside, or even around the city, is all that is necessary to see the vast amount of work being done by the troops. They carry their own wood and water, do their own washing, cleaning, cooking and so on. Contrast the now common scene of PLA troops carrying firewood or other supplies through the city with the formerly oft-seen spectacle of rifle-toting KMT soldiery prodding a group of overburdened peasants or coolies who had been so unlucky as to be caught and forcibly impressed.

In the outer areas of Shanghai the PLA may be seen helping the farmers in ploughing, or in other tasks. The statement that the troops are to "begin" engaging in productive work cannot be fully appreciated unless one has seen what they are already doing.

The overall economic implications of this campaign for productive work by the nation's soldiers cannot be under-estimated. Traditionally the upkeep of armies has been a heavy burden to civilian society. Each soldier must be supported by the state, which means that a portion of each worker's day must be spent in creating the goods required by the soldiers, a non-productive group.

However, if the soldiers are to be organized to engage in productive activity in their spare time, they can conceivably pay a considerable portion of their own way, thus lessening the public burden which the military organization normally constitutes. To appreciate fully what this will mean, one has only to recall that in the past not only did the KMT soldiers fail to contribute to their own support, but that a lot of their activity was of a destructive nature, such as squeezing or simply stealing from the people and generally interfering with the normal work and life of the people.

Mao's concluding paragraph, in which he warns that this emphasis on work does not mean going into business can easily be appreciated by any resident in China during the days of the KMT. Every general had his trading company for speculation, his construction firm which built the defenses for his army, his supply company which handled the food and equipment for his troops, his own transportation company which obtained the contract for moving his troops, and so on and so on.

Chairman Mao's message not only indicates the government's concern for the burden borne by the people, but also demonstrates the new regime's ability to find and implement a practical approach to a serious problem.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Americans And Their Foreign Policy

December 6, 1924

To understand the foundation and motives of American policy toward China, it is inescapable that we must look first to the genesis and spirit of American institutions.

What one knows today as the United States of America was born out of oppression. The impulse that brought out the Declaration of Independence is the aspiration for self-determination which has been common to human hearts always. A nation built upon the desire for freedom and the square deal to its own people, is only true to itself when it holds consistently to the theory that all other peoples, like itself, have an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Americans not only threw off the foreign yoke, but also, in their subsequent Constitution, took great pains, in formulating the system of checks and balances—in setting up the executive, legislative and judicial departments—that under no circumstances should the majority of them be permitted to tyrannize the minority of them.

It is this love of constitutional freedom and liberty that has caused the American people to be found always in passionate sympathy with all other peoples who may be struggling to free themselves from foreign domination.

From: "American Policies Toward China," by Rear Admiral W. W. Phelps, U.S. Navy

Wing On Cotton Mill

More than 200 foreigners and Chinese were present at the opening of the new Wing On Cotton and Spinning mill, in Yangtzepoo, Shanghai, on Saturday afternoon, November 29. This mill is indicative of the advance and progress that is going on in the Far East along industrial lines.

There is nothing more modern in the cotton spinning lines than that installed in the Wing On mill, some of the machinery bearing the legend "1923," housed in a group of buildings of modern concrete and steel construction, with individual electric motors, in sharp contrast to the premises where the same employees live.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Japanese Cause Rice Shortage

December 9, 1939

The acute rice situation in Shanghai is a direct outcome of purchasing activities by Japanese agents, designed to cope with the rice shortage in Japan. The Japanese, investigation has shown, are purchasing rice in the interior at prices fixed by themselves (payable in Japanese military notes) and exporting to Japan what they do not need for feeding their armies in China.

They are reported to have established a monopoly in the Sungkiang area, south of Shanghai, which is the most important source of the city's supply. Operating under the name of the Cheng Kee Company, the monopoly has notified rice hongs in the area not to sell the grain to "unauthorized" persons, but only to the company. Paying approximately $20 per picul, the monopoly is shipping rice to Japan, and some to Shanghai, and reaping huge profits.

American Student Representative

A close personal link between the students of China and those in the United States is currently being forged by Mr. Paul Moritz, graduate of the University of Kansas and a representative of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund, who is now visiting China. Mr. Moritz arrived in Chungking on December 9 in the course of an extensive tour of "Free China" during which he will gather information regarding the living conductions of students in this country. He expects to lecture in the United States upon his return to that country.

US Trade Ban Will Not Cripple China

Increased trade with other countries, as well as effective use of means at hand, seen as answer to Washington's present policy of "economic warfare."

THE United States has extended its economic "cold war" to include this country. From now on the new China, which as we all know is in great need of capital goods, cannot turn to America for many required materials.

There is no use in pretending that this is not a disappointment to many Chinese, nor that this will not interfere with the nation's plans for industrial construction. America is today the leading industrial nation of the world and thus is in the best position to supply vitally needed capital goods to the less well developed countries.

It is not difficult for us to see the American Government's real intention. As the *Review* pointed out in a recent editorial, the embargo of industrial, military and other "strategic" materials to Soviet Russia, the countries of Eastern Europe and now China is said to be an act in the interest of international peace. The American Government claims that these socialistic countries are a threat to world peace and therefore she is unwilling to help them build up their industrial potential for war.

This, however, is only the "excuse." The real reason is that the American Government is opposed to —and afraid of—socialism. Because of this opposition and fear, it desires to do whatever it can to impede economic progress in those nations which have avowedly set out on the path to socialism.

It is for this reason that China, the latest addition to the ever-growing list of countries striving toward socialism, has been added to the prohibited list. The fact that the American Government is willing to go to such lengths in an attempt to impose its will on peoples in foreign countries is indeed significant. The American Government in Washington seems to ignore the fact that the peoples of these new socialist countries, having found through bitter experience that capitalism is no longer a suitable form of social organization, have of their own free will decided to change the social system under which they live. This does not speak well for American "democracy."

* * *

The New Trade Pattern

WHILE America's closing of the economic door to China will cause us considerable inconvenience and will, in some cases, slow down our industrialization plans, the United States is by no means the only source of supply of the materials which we need and desire.

Presumably we shall be able to trade with Great Britain, although it is possible that the United States may attempt to bring pressure to bear on Britain to adopt a similar attitude toward the new China. However, it is unlikely that Britain can be prevailed upon to go too far along with the United States since the former's investments in China, her stake in the China trade and her overall interest in Asia will dictate that she remain on relatively friendly terms with this country.

It should also be noted, both in the case of the United States and Britain, that China has certain raw materials which both countries need. The new authorities can be expected to insist upon getting what China considers vital goods in return for such materials as tungsten, antimony, tea, bristles, wood and vegetable oils, and so on. If the West wants these raw materials, they will have to pay for them with machines and other goods which China desires, not with chewing gum, cigarettes or other types of luxurious consumer articles which America considers as "non-strategic" materials.

However, the most important change in China's traditional pattern of foreign trade will be the swing away from the West toward the East. Already fairly brisk trade is being carried out between China and the Soviet Union. The Northeast is shipping soya beans and other raw materials and in return is getting machinery, petroleum products, and other types of manufactured goods which China needs.

Meanwhile, East China is in the process of discussing trade with Soviet representatives. Press dispatches indicate that Russia may be a good market for this area's silk, an article that has not been particularly marketable in the West in recent years, not to mention such local products as tea, minerals, etc.

While it is likely that Russia will replace the United States as the leading nation with which China conducts foreign trade, there is certain to be trade with the countries of Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia in particular is well equipped to supply China with up-to-date capital goods. From Eastern Germany it is already reported that a trade mission to China is in process of formation.

Most of the speculation about China's future economic development has been based on the premise that this country must for many years exchange its raw materials for foreign finished goods before it can build up any internal industrial production. Such reasoning overlooks the fact that industrialization has already begun, although admittedly on a very small and inadequate scale. However, with Manchuria, the best developed area, as a base, we can do a lot ourselves. It will take us longer if we have to make machines ourselves and we will be handicapped in certain fields, but the fact remains that China is capable of industrializing by her own efforts.

It is not generally realized, but right here in Shanghai a wide variety of quite complicated machines can and are being made. In the past, locally manufactured machines were frequently rejected in favor of foreign ones because of the latters' superior qualities, such as standardization of parts and better materials, plus the fact that under the KMT's financial policy such imported materials were frequently cheaper than the local ones.

However, because of the blockade the local machine industry has picked up and, with the American trade embargo including many types of machinery, its future seems assured. In fact, the removal of foreign competition will no doubt speed up its development. Since a certain basic stage of production has been reached by the city's small machine shops, both in workers' skill and in machine tools, there is no reason why drawbacks, such as lack of assembly line methods, cannot be overcome.

* * *

Inventions And Substitutes

IT would be impossible to list here the kinds and quantities of machines produced locally, but such articles as textile machinery, diesel and steam engines, high quality steel machining tools, electric generators, serve to indicate the degree of development.

Under the spur of the blockade, a number of advances have already been made. For instance the Shanghai Brick Factory is now producing for the first time silicon bricks which formerly were imported. Daily production at this one plant is now about 10,000 bricks which are being supplied to local steel and iron refineries and gas and electric plants. Meanwhile, the company is tackling the problem of producing magnesium bricks which it is hoped can be turned out in the near future.

The Central Chemical Plant, a state company, is in the process of establishing a pilot plant at an estimated cost of the equivalent of US$50,000 to US$60,000 for making synthetic rubber. Experiments in making rubber from calcium carbide are reported in progress in the Northeast.

From Anshan, steel center in the Northeast, it is reported that efforts at making silicon steel have been successful. Supplies are expected to be shipped to Shanghai shortly. The New China Engineering Company, a private Shanghai firm, has succeeded, after two months of research and experimentation, in turning out high quality ball bearings. The bearings are made from locally-produced steel and are said to have three-fourths the durability of foreign bearings.

In the field of substitutes a great deal can be—and is being—accomplished. The most noticeable, the converting of boats and trucks to charcoal and wood burners, has been quite successful. Naturally, such vehicles are not so efficient as

when run on gasoline, but they still run and that is the important thing.

Almost daily there are stories of how factories or other firms are experimenting with substitutes or even make-shifts in order to overcome the effects of the blockade. While such arrangements frequently are time consuming and may appear expensive in the long, run, they demonstrate that America's embargo will not cripple us. What's more, such arrangements may aid us in overcoming our temporary shortage of foreign exchange.

* * *

Conservation

THE great progress in conservation work inaugurated in the liberated areas will increase China's degree of sufficiency in many lines, and will thus make her less dependent upon the outside world, and consequently, less vulnerable to America's economic war.

In this line several enormous undertakings have been commenced. The most recent is the water conservancy and flood prevention plan for north Kiangsu. Some 200,000 laborers are now beginning work on an area 188 kilometers in length along the Kwang River in the Kwangyun district of this province. The project, which will take several years to complete fully, envisages the eventual employment of 500,000 laborers and the reclamation of 7,367,000 meters of flood-devastated land. The Yi River, which flows through this area, will be dredged and, in some places, its course will be changed.

What this project will mean in increased food and other crops alone is easily imaginable. However, this is not the only such reclamation plan being undertaken at this time. It seems safe to predict that within the foreseeable future China's dependence upon foreign rice, cotton, and other agricultural products will be greatly reduced.

It is not only in these fields that the principle of conservation is bearing fruit. Under the banner of eliminating waste and practicing austerity the country's available goods will be stretched so as to go considerably further. Figures from any number of factories, particularly in the textile industry, indicate the success of the waste reduction campaign. Nearly all of Shanghai's cotton mills, for example, report greater production with less cotton, as well as savings in electricity and other expenses.

Another boost to our industrial and overall economic progress will be the efficient use of machines and other materials which we already have but which were for one reason or another never made use of before. The most outstanding instance of this is the utilization of the huge quantities of American and other surplus equipment since the liberation of Shanghai.

UNRRA, as well as the surplus property organization, brought large quantities of machines to China. For the past several years, electric generators, trucks, earth-moving machines, to mention but a few items, have been lying around in fields and godowns because the KMT was too corrupt and inefficient to make the proper use of them. Now, however, all these materials are being put to work. For example, China has been in urgent need of cotton gins. The new authorities found a number of these machines, all ready to be uncrated and assembled, lying in Shanghai godowns where they had been stored since the early UNRRA days. Now these modern, American cotton gins are at work in the cotton producing areas.

* * *

The New Spirit

LASTLY, we must not overlook the new spirit of China. While many people are fond of discounting the spirit of the people, preferring to rely upon statistics of machine power, and other material factors, there is no denying the fact that the enlightenment which has come to the Chinese people will make all the difference in the world.

We should remember that it was the spirit of the PLA and the Communist Party which was largely responsible for the victory of the people's forces in the civil war. How could it be, people used to wonder, that the poorly clad and poorly armed Eighth Route Army men so often during the War of Resistance were able to withstand the combined attacks of the Japanese and the Kuomintang, both of which had at their command numerically superior forces armed with modern equipment?

Even after VJ Day, when the Communists had become a force to be reckoned with, many people thought that the KMT troops, armed to the teeth with the latest American bombers, tanks, bazookas and other weapons, would make short work of the PLA. The outcome of the civil war has provided the answer. The People's Liberation Army had the spirit, the Kuomintang's Army did not.

This spirit is rapidly being acquired by the mass of the people in the newly-liberated areas and, as in the civil war, it will pay dividends in the factories and in the fields. Already China has her labor heroes and heroines.

With the abolition of the old feudal relationships between workers and bosses, China's labor is becoming increasingly productive. In Shanghai, for instance, we have many examples of how the removal of the feudal influences brings about an entirely new attitude on the part of the workers. In the cotton mills, for example, where management has been democratized and where the workers now

Efficiency Up, Waste Down

PRESS dispatches from various cities in the liberated areas, particularly those in the Northeast, which has been under the control of the People's Government longer than most other sections of the country, report increasing labor efficiency in nearly all lines. This is said to be partially due to improved techniques, especially in Manchuria where Soviet technicians have been employed for some time, and the due to the improved spirit of the laborers following the introduction of workers' participation in management. These same factors are also reported to have resulted in greatly increased savings of materials as improved methods and heightened worker responsibility reduce waste.

For example, workers in the Dairen Shipyard are said to have cut the time required for building a certain type of ship hull from seven months to three days. This astounding increase of 70 times in productivity is reported due to the use of new methods introduced by Russian engineers.

In Mukden two textile workers, Hwang Tsu-fu and Hsu En-lai, set a new record for the number of spindles tended by one person, with each handling 1,100 spindles. This compares with the average of 600 spindles per worker in Shanghai.

A pit in the Fushun coal field surpassed its production quota by 115 percent. One locomotive of the Tsitsihar Railway Administration made a safe run of 140,000 kilometers without a general overhaul. Wang Ching-chung, a worker in one of the Fushun coal mines, cut a six-foot lathe lead-screw in one hour and fifty-three minutes. The highest record in Japanese occupation days was four hours, while the work took 30 hours just after Manchuria's liberation.

Meanwhile, statistics compiled by the General Labor Union in the Northeast during the first half of this year reported that a total of 1,377 proposals had resulted in savings amounting to Northeastern currency 440,000,000,000. A breakdown of the proposals showed that 539 were inventions and new devices, 633 were for improvement of tools and machines, while the remaining 205 were suggestions for the utilization of waste materials and the alteration of labor organization and working system.

Reviewing a number of such records, the *New China News Agency* recently reported that they were "the outcome of the mass movement for higher production. During the movement new records and the holders were headline news and duly rewarded. . . The mass education of workers in Manchuria also contributed greatly to the raising of the workers' efficiency. Hundreds of technical schools and classes founded in the factories throughout the Northeast have trained tens of thousands of unskilled working men and women into technicians. Literacy combined with political consciousness makes them more efficient workmen."

have a voice in saying how the plant is to be run, the attitude toward work has become much more serious. Before, the workers were subject to numerous forms and types of exploitation. The foremen were feudal overlords who watched the workers closely and seized upon the slightest excuse to penalize or even discharge them.

Naturally the workers resented this and, although very depressed, retaliated as best they could. The girls who tend the spindles used to play a game among themselves vying with one another to see who could let a spindle run without thread the longest and not get caught by the foreman. Today the workers themselves frown upon such practices and, actually, they do not wish to cause management unnecessary expenses any more because they know that their own strength, plus the support of the new government, will enable them to get a fair deal from management. Therefore, they want to see the business condition of the factory improve as much as possible.

On the docks along Shanghai's waterfront great improvements have been made in the working efficiency of the dock coolies. In the past the steamship companies and the dock owners hired coolies through labor contractors. The company would bargain with the contractor who would agree to supply a certain number of workers at so much per worker. The company paid the wages to the contractor. The contractor in turn dealt with sub-contractors. Sometimes the coolies actually received as little as 10 percent of the money paid out by the company to the number one contractor.

Today this contractor system is being abolished. On some wharfs the coolies are already organized into proper unions with elected officers who deal with the companies. The improvements have been many. The coolies, decently paid for the first time, work harder. Of great importance is the fact that there is no longer any reason for them to steal goods from the docks. In the past it was their only way of squaring accounts and thus getting enough to live upon. Today this is not necessary, and, through their unions, the coolies are gaining a sense of responsibility, realizing the importance of their share in the building of the new China.

* * *

THE American Government's launching of an economic crusade against the people of China because they have chosen to reorganize their society along socialistic lines will not stop, nor alter, the progress of the new China. The Chinese people were able to throw off the yoke of an internal despotism, although it was strongly supported by the United States Government. This latest device of President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson, also aimed at thwarting the will of the Chinese people, will prove to be of as little effectiveness.

— *TAO WEI-LIEN*

An American tells of her children's

Education In New China

GRACE D. LIU

SINCE the liberation of Tientsin on January 15, nine months ago, we have been gradually learning to live a new life—and we like it! We feel that we are living where history is being made and where great things are taking place under our very eyes.

However, if I had to choose one thing that impresses me above all others, I would say it was the vitalization of the schools—the injection of vigorous new life into the dead, dried up, conventional Chinese educational system. Because I have three school age children, one in middle school and two in primary school, the character of the school life is of the utmost importance to me. My children have always gone to Chinese schools, in order to acquire the solid Chinese background so essential to children who are part Chinese and part foreign, if they are to avoid that misfit feeling of being neither fish nor fowl.

My husband and I also wanted our children to grow up thinking of themselves as belonging to the mass of "common" Chinese, rather than to any exclusive or privileged group wearing smart foreign clothes and learning foreign accomplishments in select and high priced schools. So the primary school we chose was one of those established by the YMCA for the more or less underprivileged. It was overcrowded and not very clean and our children were exposed to every germ in circulation, but the scholastic standard was high—higher than in many of the more expensive schools—and the teachers were more "progressive" than those in schools completely KMT-controlled.

Cotton Uniforms

All the children wore the same ill fitting cotton uniform—stuffed with cotton padded garments in winter, hanging emptily in warm weather. Unless I saw their faces, I couldn't tell my children from any of the other little "scarecrows" in the street. But they were happy being at one with a mob of five or six hundred other children. In spite of the dirt and germs I considered the atmosphere a healthy one.

Before the liberation, the routine studies were taught in the routine manner along with a great deal of Kuomintang nonsense, including the German "Goose Step!" It was all dry and dull, and not much attempt was made to teach the children any guiding principles or any useful or fundamental lessons from life. The children had the usual attitude toward school. They enjoyed primarily the association with the other children and were entirely irresponsible. It was the teacher's business to drum the knowledge into their heads and to discipline them — if possible!

As a conscientious American mother I tried to keep up with the latest teachings on child psychology. But now I can relax. I am liberated from child psychology books, for the schools have become dynamic, energizing the children and at the same time driving their energy and enthusiasm into proper and useful channels. My children are being made into responsible and cooperating young people at a bewildering rate.

I feel left behind and passed over by a whirlwind that has swept my children out from under my undoubtedly too hovering wing — the children I used to coax out of bed, whose lessons I had to supervise and for whom a tutor had to be engaged occasionally. All that is a thing of the past. They now get me out of bed and they now must do their share of tutoring.

New Activities

When my 12 year-old daughter says she must be in school before seven, I set the alarm for six; but she is usually up before it rings. And why does she have to be at school at such an hour? She is on police duty! My daughter wears on her coat a shoulder patch bearing the Chinese characters *"Fu Wu."* That means she is on duty serving the school and her fellow schoolmates—watching to see that the small children do not get hurt, that the school yard fights do not become too violent and that wastepaper and trash are not thrown on the floor or in the yard.

She is also the *"tzu chang"* (group leader) of her *"hsiao tzu"* (small group or unit), a group of three boys and three girls of the same class who meet to discuss their own and each other's short comings and how to *"kai kuo"* (change). But the most noteworthy and useful thing about the *"hsiao tzu"* system is the help the pupils give each other. Those who excell in their studies must help those who are having difficulties. The group pulls together and solves its collective problems whether scholastic or disciplinary. It is excellent training in teamwork and cooperation, and automatically does away with much of the old selfish striving for individual superiority.

Self-Criticism Meetings

A few weeks ago I had a very instructive talk with my eight year-old son. He is a *"fu tzu chang"* (deputy group leader). Their *"hsiao tzu"* has nine children in it. I asked my son to tell me about their *"tan pei hui"* (a meeting in which the children speak out honestly concerning their misbehavior in school.

"Well, said he, "everybody says what he has done that wasn't right.

Then each body says he must do what to make him remember not to do bad again." (His English is a somewhat literal translation from Chinese.)

In other words each child imposes his own penance and carries it out immediately. I asked my son, "And what did you say you had done that wasn't right?"

"I talk sometimes while the teacher is teaching the lesson."

For that misdemeanor he penalized himself five extra pages of "big letter writing" (writing about one and a half inch square Chinese characters with a brush).

"And did you do it?" I asked. "Yes, he said, "I must do it."

"Do they all do what they say they must do even if the teacher is not there?"

"Of course! We say we do what, we must do what"—directly from the Chinese, *"Wo men shuo shen mo, wo men i ting tso shen mo."*

Books And Lessons

In answer to my question about the books they are using now, he said, "Now our books are much better than before. Now they teach us good things."

When I wanted to know what sort of "good things," he got one of his books and translated several small stories for me, and explained the lesson each taught. Here first is the countryside — all the able bodied adults are hard at work in the field, the children are carrying food and water to the workers and the old grandpas and grandmas are sitting taking care of the babies or making shoes. Each has a job according to his strength and ability as my son explained it—"Even the little people and the old people can do something useful, nobody must be lazy!"

Then comes the story of the ants and the dead dragon fly. One ant cannot move the least little part of the big creature, but when hundreds and thousands of ants combine all their tiny efforts, short shift is made of the great dead body and it is soon stored away for the ants' winter food.

"You see," explains my small instructor, "one person cannot fight the Kuomintang all by himself, but many, many people together have much strength and the Kuomintang is soon finished."

Perseverance and persistence are illustrated in the next lesson. The rain of many years has worn a hole in the stone step and persistent filing has abraded away a piece of steel to the fineness of a needle.

The next story, of the woman who cheated and deceived only to discover that she had finally cheated herself, is one I hope will make a lasting impression on the children.

Girls' Middle School

The girls' middle school at which my 16 year-old daughter is a boarder was, at the time she entered, the only non-Catholic girls' school in the city that was at all tolerable in its living accommodations. This school presented a decided contrast to the primary school, as it was definitely for the daughters of the rich, and the girls who went there were considered *"hsiao chiehs"* (pampered young ladies). This is now no longer true. The same class of girls attend the school, but they have ceased to be languid *"hsiao chiehs."* They have become energetic, hard working, hard playing, enthusiastic school girls who run the school themselves in a most progressive, democratic way.

Shortly before liberation the KMT troops occupied the school, and left it in an almost ruined condition. In one part all the windows were broken and the floors torn up. The part that wasn't damaged was left filthy. After liberation the damage was repaired, and the superintendent called for volunteers from among the students to clean up the place. No coolies and servants now to make things presentable and proper for the "young ladies!" The young ladies must sweep and dust and scrub away at the dirt, down on the floor on their hands and knees. A surprising number turned up willing to work, but many of them had no idea how to launch an attack on the really appalling filth, and they wandered around aimlessly flitting dust cloths about.

Although somewhat of a *"hsiao chieh"* herself, my daughter was not a complete stranger to house cleaning. She organized a squad of the most enterprising of the "young ladies" and they rolled up their sleeves and went to work. They took home blistered hands and aching backs. But they went back every day until the job was done. Now they take a great pride in the "slick" appearance of their school. On holidays they wash the windows and scrub the floors and desks with hot water and washing soda.

Always Something Exciting

Judging from my daughter's spirited reports, school life is more interesting than ever before, with something exciting always going on. Earlier in the fall there was the election of the school committee with its week of election campaigning. The girls took a lively interest in making campaign speeches, and composing slogans extolling the virtues of their candidates; this sort of experience teaches them community spirit.

Out of 30 candidates—three from each of the ten classes—15 were elected by vote to make up the school committee. The girl with the highest number of votes was chairman of the committee, the girl with the next highest, the vice-chairman. Of the remaining 13, each became the leader of one of the school groups or units, such as: the recreational activities group—taking in athletics, singing and dancing; the social workers' group—in charge of the small school for the very poor children of the neighborhood, taught by the girls themselves; the co-op group; the inter-school relationship group; the class *"hsueh hsi"* (study) group; and eight others. One out of these 15 girls is later elected to represent the school in the all Tientsin Schools Union.

On the school grounds there is a wall the girls call the *"Min Chu Ch'iang"* (the Democratic Wall). Here a girl can paste up any complaint, protest or suggestion she pleases provided she signs her name to it. When the pupils do not like a certain school policy, and paste up enough protests with valid and reasonable arguments, something must be done to change the objectionable policy.

Parade Casualty

This school distinguished itself in the huge 13 hour parade celebrating the establishment of the new Government last month.

On the night of the big celebration parade, around 1:00 a.m. some reactionary elements attempted to create a disturbance in what they thought was a weak spot. A gang of KMT agents tried to break through the marching column of girls and their Yang Ko groups. But the girls stood firm and fought back. Some of the girls were knocked down and my daughter, one of the 26 Yang Ko dancers, was hit on the head and shoulder and knocked unconscious. Carried to a nearby ambulance, revived and sent immediately back to the school, she suffered no worse injury than a bruised nerve in her shoulder. The disturbers were quickly subdued by the armed postmen who came to the rescue of the girls. Wearing her arm in a sling all the next week, my daughter was smugly proud of herself. Now she could swap parade stories with her father who once in 1922 couldn't sit down for a week after getting "whammed" across the seat of his pants by the rifle butt of a soldier during a striking students parade in Peking!

Going to school is no longer a dull and plodding duty or an arduous eyesight ruining grind; the learning of prosaic facts and the acquiring of knowledge is made dramatic and lively by practical experience and the pointing up of the great principles of life. When my children are home the house is filled with the sound of dancing feet and voices raised in tuneful song. My small son, imitating the clash of cymbols with his hands and chanting the onomatopoeic *"ch'ang, ch'ang, ch'i, ch'ang, ch'i,"* dances the Yang Ko through the house with the verve of a ballet dancer. My big daughter practices the inspiring song and dance in which the growth of the revolution is pantomimed, from the farmers' reaping and sowing motions in the field to the soldiers' bayonet charge.

When children sing and dance they are happy—and happiness brings health, both physical and mental. That is why I am glad my children are being educated today in New China.

New China's Cooperatives

Government plans widespread development of cooperatives, particularly in supply and marketing field, as cities encourage factories to establish consumer units.

TOWARDS the end of 1948 when the "city policy" was introduced, the promotion of cooperatives took a new direction with emphasis for the first time on the organization of cooperatives in cities. This was necessary in the light of PLA advances liberating major cities if the cooperative movement was to make a significant contribution to the economic program of the New Democracy. Together with this new policy which encouraged the organization of consumer cooperatives in the cities, and a very vital part of it, was a program of widespread organization of supply and marketing cooperatives so that within six months—by July 1949—over 10,000 supply and marketing cooperatives were organized in North China alone. Within the same period 431,011 people in the North China area joined consumer cooperatives, chiefly in the cities of Tientsin, Peking, Tangshan, Shihchiachuang, Taiyuan, Changchiakou and Tsinan where almost every state-owned and large private factory established its own consumer cooperative.

New Program

During the past 10 years in the Border Regions productive cooperatives were developed in the rural areas, chiefly textile weaving units, though leather tanneries, oil pressing and chemical works cooperatives were also operating. Such cooperatives, closely interlinked with consumer and credit cooperatives which served as centers for community services, for literacy classes, clinics and special training classes, produced textiles and other consumer goods both for military and civilian needs. Until 1948 military conditions kept cooperative units very scattered, and cut off as they were from coastal cities, they were not faced with competitive business conditions. Whatever they produced was welcomed, used and paid for. However, the new situation called for a new program which was outlined in January of this year at a North China Cooperative Conference.

This conference advocated careful development of the cooperatives in the initial period, i.e., thorough indoctrination in the principles of cooperative practices and concern for the economic realities of a given area, emphasized the role of cooperatives in the nation's productive drive and called for the reorganization of the *hsien* production promoting societies into supply and marketing cooperatives. It was pointed out that through cooperatives, supplies such as kerosene, oil, implements, raw materials and certain foodstuffs could be brought from the cities to supply farmers and workers in the outlying areas and in reverse, to purchase the products of these groups for sale in the cities. The supply and marketing of these products was arranged through the local offices of the state trading societies which were in a position to sell the farmers and rural workers products which they needed at prices lower than the prevailing market prices and to purchase their products at prices slightly higher than those offered the cooperatives by middlemen.

By the end of August 1949 this policy was in effect in most places. Though some areas implemented the new policy more quickly than others, it was significant that wherever the state trading societies and the supply and marketing cooperatives had established close working relations, the policy was more successful both in terms of return to the producers and in terms of production.

Developing Production

Actual instances reported from east Hopei illustrate the usefulness of such a policy in encouraging production. In one district a large quantity of reeds was procured and supplied to the cooperatives, which returned woven mats which found a ready market through the local office of the state trading society. At Shan Huo, also in the same district, castor oil seeds were purchased from the cooperatives and in return the cooperatives purchased oil and other necessities. After the wheat harvest, the cooperatives exchanged coarse cereals for millet and helped the farmers purchase advance supplies of fertilizer and cotton which they used for weaving—an auxiliary occupation for many farmers in the locality. These are only a few instances of the contribution of supply and marketing cooperatives to developing production and at the same time bringing increased returns (though in some cases still very small) to the producers.

In the cities, cooperative work has been divided into three main categories: consumer cooperatives, handicraft producer cooperatives and cooperative warehouses. The chief feature of the consumer cooperatives is the elimination of middlemen. Through the assistance of government trading societies and their practice of purchasing goods directly from the producers, these cooperatives have been able to supply their members with daily necessities at stabilized prices a few percent lower than market prices. In this way the living standards of the workers have been kept as high as possible and the workers' morale as a result has continued to be very good.

Handicraft producer cooperatives present a more difficult problem, for they include many industries—cloth weaving, knitting, wool spinning, rug making, masonry, leather products and sewing—and integration with the state trading societies is more complicated. Some such cooperatives have only a half dozen members, others more than 50 members, with the result that the true practice of cooperation becomes unwieldy particularly where members' understanding of cooperative principles is inadequate. Capitalization of handicraft producer cooperatives is another complicated issue, for individual members have difficulty in contributing equally in the capitalization, while those who have contributed more feel themselves entitled to exercise more control.

Members Lack Capital

Also, many of these cooperatives have necessarily been capitalized with government funds and though this is necessary for some time to come because the majority of cooperative members simply do not have capital reserves, such a practice does not encourage the individual responsibility of each cooperative member. Where education is faulty, there may be an over-emphasis on profit-making rather than sound cooperation.

However, educational work has been underway for several months, particularly among cooperatives in Shantung, Hopei and Shensi, to familiarize the members with democratic procedure, to help them with business problems and integrate them with local production drives. As with all other types of cooperatives, the government has made arrangements with local banks to advance low interest loans in an effort to stimulate production wherever possible.

In the six most important cities of North China 10 cooperative warehouses and farmers' hostels have already been established. In one three-month period farmers' hostels in Peking, Shihchiachuang and Chiangkiakou alone accommodated 22,229 people as well as more than 10,000 cartloads of products. Farmers are beginning to regard the cooperative warehouses as safe places for storing their products and each warehouse has become a center of activity for buying and selling for outlying district cooperatives, thus strengthening the town and country relationships.

Town-Country Relationship

That town and country interchange of products takes place through cooperatives is important in order that markets be stabilized and regularized and that middlemen be thoroughly eliminated. The most efficient way to promote this exchange is through the government trading societies using the cooperatives as the medium of organization. At first the system of exchange was somewhat irregular and piecemeal but during the past four to five months the situation has improved. Now, when orders are received, the goods to be exchanged are named, marketing, purchasing and transportation facilities arranged, and the business conducted in a systematic manner. The results have been most encouraging. In areas where such economic integration is practiced, it has been possible to plan, survey, supervise and transform piecemeal trading into regularized wholesale trading, thereby reducing the ill effects of unstable prices which are such a great worry for small producers.

The pattern of cooperative development laid down in North China is being followed elsewhere, and in Shanghai results are already evident,

the most dramatic being among the supply and marketing cooperatives established in outlying districts. And in the city itself thousands of workers attached to large factories have become members of consumer cooperatives, purchasing through them their daily necessities such as rice, kerosene, soap and toothbrushes, at prices slightly below prevailing market prices.

Cooperatives In Shanghai

In Paiyang, a small village of only 84 families, not very far from Shanghai, a supply and marketing cooperative was recently organized. In this area of poor farmers, cotton, soya beans and vegetables are grown. When the PLA representative first visited the area a few months ago to talk with the farmers about the possibility of organizing a cooperative, he found considerable resistance. "Cooperation" was a new idea which the peasants were not at all certain would benefit them. They listened while the representative explained many times just how the cooperative would improve their condition by purchasing fertilizer from Shanghai at a lower cost than the price which the middleman asked. Finally a group of seven agreed to try out the plan. Of these seven, five were poor peasants and two were middle or wealthier farmers. Two days after the organization of the cooperative a mass rally was held at which the cooperative idea was again explained. This time 33 farmers applied for membership. Plans were made and the purchase of fertilizer from Shanghai was arranged at a cost well below the price of the fertilizer merchant. When the fertilizer arrived and the farmers saw that it was really possible to bring fertilizer from Shanghai to Paiyang at a low price, they were most impressed.

It was not long before villages all around Paiyang heard what had happened and sent representatives to find out why and how another village should be getting cheaper fertilizer. Now those neighboring villages have gone ahead with their own plans to establish cooperatives.

In other districts cooperative work is equally active. In Kiangwan a supply and marketing cooperative was organized at the end of October to provide bean seeds at JMP200 a catty for all who joined the cooperative. There was considerable discussion as to whether non-members should be allowed to purchase from the cooperative; finally it was decided that they could purchase bean seeds for JMP 220 a catty.

In Woosung the cooperatives are selling supplies at prices below the market price with the result that there has been a great increase in cooperative membership in this district. The Kiangwan Supply and Sales Cooperative, also established in October, has invited government workers, factory workers, schools and other organizations to membership which will enable them to purchase fresh vegetables at prices below those of local vegetable markets. In Chengyu, Sinshi, Kaochiao, Kiangwan and Woosung other cooperatives have been organized which supply local farmers with rice, edible oil, matches, soap and socks. Next spring when the harvest is ready, these farmers will sell their produce through their own cooperatives.

Gains In 1949

Secondary difficulties there are. Particularly is this evident in the field of cooperative organizers, and there is a shortage of trained personnel to carry on cooperative promotion in countryside and cities alike. There is also much to be done to bring closer relations between state trading societies and the various types of cooperatives. Nevertheless cooperative work in 1949 has already shown impressive gains, and demonstrated how vital a part cooperation in all its forms can play in reconstruction. Article 38 of the Common Program passed by the People's Political Consultative Conference states: "Concerning cooperatives, the broad masses of the working people shall be encouraged and assisted to develop cooperatives according to the principles of voluntariness. Supply and marketing cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives, credit cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and transport cooperatives shall be organized in towns and villages and consumers' cooperatives shall first be organized in factories, institutions and schools." The policy laid down in Article 38 is already in process of implementation.

— *ROSE YARDUMIAN*

The Week's Business

Chungking's liberation to stimulate trade; 1950 budget announced; markets more stablized.

CHUNGKING'S liberation on November 30 has proved to be another stimulant to the local export trade, as shipment of native products from Szechuen is expected to be resumed. According to estimates made by competent quarters, more than 10,000 tons of tung oil are stored in Chungking waiting to be transported to Shanghai. The quantity of hog bristles in Chungking is also considerable. Latest reports say the Ming Sung Industrial Company already has alloted 10 ships to resume the service between Shanghai and Chungking.

Meanwhile, large quantities of goods are being held in Shanghai for export, and 20,000 tons of green tea are scheduled to leave for North Africa shortly. Commencing from January, 1950, the Isbrandtsen Line is slated to resume fortnightly sailings between Shanghai and the United States, the local A. P. Pattison & Company, its agent, has announced.

Press reports from Hongkong disclosed that two Isbrandtsen freighters are scheduled to leave Hongkong for Shanghai early in January. All their cargo space already is nearly booked, and the cargoes, totalling some 1,600 tons, will include pharmaceuticals, petroleum, rubber, paper and industrial chemicals.

November exports from Shanghai, according to statistics carried by the *Giefang Rhbao* (Liberation Daily) on December 2, aggregated a value of JMP16,633,639,216. The settlement of foreign exchange for these exports included US$2,491,821.52, £46,372 15s. 8d. and HK$3,347,241. A total of 14,581 tons of ocean vessels entered and cleared this port in November.

A development of the most important bearing on the finance and economy of this country for the coming year was the government's release of the financial budget for 1950 and the announcement that government bonds would be floated. According to Finance Minister Po Yi-po, a deficit of 18.7 percent is expected for the coming year, but the bonds are expected to absorb 38.4 percent of this amount, the rest to be made up by note issue.

Government expenditure for 1950 will be as follows: Military expenses, 38.8 percent; administrative 21.4 percent; capital investment in state enterprises 23.9 percent; cultural, educational and health, 4.1 percent; subsidies for local government 2.3 percent; repayment of capital and interest on Northeast bonds 0.1 percent; general reserves 9.4 percent.

The bonds will total 200,000,000 units, with each unit to equal six catties of rice, one and a half catties of wheat flour, four feet of fine cloth and 16 catties of coal, calculated in accordance with the average wholesale price in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton and Chungking.

Local commodity markets during the week from December 1 to 7 still maintained a bearish trend. The wholesale price index for essential commodities during the week ending December 3, according to the *Giefang Rhbao*, registered a decline of 17.6 percent, and that for export goods 7.9 percent.

The money situation also tended to be easy, with the interest rates on curb call loans coming down to around JMP30 per mille per day. The official interest rates among the banking circles also drifted to JMP22 on call loans.

Quotations

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Nov. 30 JMP	Dec. 7 JMP
Parity Unit	2,684	2,762
US dollar (note)	10,800	13,500
20's yarn	2,700,000	2,900,000
12-lb. cloth	120,000	129,000
Rice, 1st grade	125,000	125,000
Peanut oil	285,000	272,000
Coal briquette	19,300	19,300

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Addresses PLA; Liberation of Chungking

CHAIRMAN Mao Tze-tung of the People's Revolutionary Committee of the Central People's Government has issued a directive asking the troops of the People's Liberation Army to participate in 1950 in national production and reconstruction programs.

The text of the directive states that basic, nation-wide victory has been won in the Liberation War and that only a few fronts remain where the PLA has still to concentrate its efforts to eliminate the remaining enemy forces.

* * *

On one of these remaining fronts, in Szechuen province, resistance has practically ceased. During the week the PLA entered an undefended Chungking and now General Liu Po-cheng's columns are reported racing along the highway to Chengtu having occupied Neikang, 105 miles west of that city.

Earlier reports from Chungking, while it was still in Nationalist hands, stated that Nationalist Premier Yen Hsi-shan's mobile capital expected to quit Chengtu for Taiwan within a week.

Liberation of Chungking

By 11:00 a.m. on November 30 the last organized Nationalist troops were out of Chungking fleeing in panic and confusion to the west. Hongkong reports say that most of these troops were still wearing summer suits despite the cold west China weather, and that some of them were barefooted. They left in such haste that there was little time for sabotage and destruction in the city.

The city was quiet and peaceful when, at about 6:30 p.m., the vanguards of the People's Liberation Army began to enter.

On the following morning the liberation of the temporary Nationalist capital was confirmed in telegraphic dispatches reaching Shanghai from Chungking. At 9:30 a.m. on December 1, the tele-communication authorities in Shanghai received the first post-liberation telegram from Chungking.

Collapse In Yunnan

Reports from Kunming predict that Yunnan province may soon fall to the forces of the People's Government, possibly without fighting. These reports say that the Nationalist influence in Yunnan, one of the two provinces not yet invaded by the PLA, has been reduced to a few small areas while thousands of people's guerillas are intensifying their activities.

Two regiments of Nationalist Governor Lu Han's peace preservation forces went over to guerillas on December 4 at Yushi, 50 miles south of Kunming.

It is said that Governor Lu Han has become "politically sick" and that he has handed over his duties to a subordinate. He has sent his family to Hongkong.

French Will Apply Law

France will apply the appropriate rules of international law should any retreating Chinese Nationalist troops enter Indo-China, a French Foreign Office official said in Paris.

These rules, he said, require that troops withdrawing into the territory of a country not at war should be disarmed, interned and, when possible, sent back to their own territory.

It was recalled that 150 Chinese Nationalist militia, who sailed down the China coast in a junk and entered Indo-China waters two weeks ago, were disarmed, interned and sent back to Nationalist-held Chinese territory.

Peking radio has broadcast a warning that the governments of all countries adjoining China would be "held responsible" if they shelter Nationalist forces.

* * *

Victory Bond Issue

THE Central People's Government is to issue 200,000,000 units of People's Victory bonds, according to a *New China News Agency* report.

Each unit is to equal 6 catties of rice, 1½ catties of wheat flour, 4 feet of fine cloth or 16 catties of coal. The price of these commodities is to be calculated in accordance with the average wholesale price in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, Canton and Chungking.

The bonds will be made available to the public in January with annual interest at five percent, and are to be completely redeemable by instalments in five years' time.

Decision to issue the bonds was announced on December 2 after a meeting of the Central People's Government Council, presided over by its Chairman, Mao Tze-tung.

Vice-Chairman Chen Yun said that, as a result of the great extension of

Tientsin's Price Fluctuations

Tientsin, November 25

THE past few weeks of price fluctuations have now been checked and this city's November food crisis eased. Both the development of the situation and the action taken are worth reviewing.

The farmers in Tientsin's environs had been investing the proceeds from their cotton harvest in grains from urban stocks. The government purchasing agencies, anxious to assure ample raw material to Tientsin spindles, had paid the farmers good prices in return for their newly harvested cotton. But floods had hit food-crop areas, devastating them and reducing their productivity by as high as 30 percent in some localities. So the peasants' first and almost exclusive idea for investment of their cotton profits was in grains—something to eat for the winter. Tientsin stocks, however, were not adequate to supply its own top-heavy burden and provide for rural consumption as well. Further, bubonic plague had broken out in the Northwest, cutting off that area's cereal contributions to Tientsin.

Another factor was the activity of speculative elements who turned this economic situation, caused by the flood, plague and reversed grain flow, to their own ends and caused commodity prices to go even higher. During the week from November 7 to 12, retail prices of 17 essential commodities in Tientsin practically doubled over prices prevailing during the week before.

The government tackled the food problem first by importing rice, millet and other grains from the Northeast by means of a barter arrangement. The importance of barter trade in purchasing products from Manchuria can best be appreciated in the light of the monetary ratio between the North China and Northeast dollar which is 25 to one. To pay for food imports from the Northeast in JMP at this rate would seriously eat into North China's currency reserves.

The transportation of this grain from the Northeast was facilitated by the resumption of traffic on the Peking-Suiyuan Railway on November 16.

Tientsin also brought in coal from the Kailan mines and cotton yarn, cloth and wheat flour from Shanghai.

Next Tientsin Food Company and the Public Security Bureau began preparations for a food rationing system which is expected to go into effect December 1. Issuance of purchasing coupons has already been completed. Each resident is entitled to 30 catties of food each month.

In the meantime, the Food Company appointed a number of rice shops to sell government rice directly to the public. The North China Cotton, Yarn and Cloth Company also commissioned certain cloth shops to sell piece goods in limited quantities to customers at a fixed price. This together with the dumping of supplies, knocked the bottom out of black market dealings and brought prices down.

At the same time the authorities moved against speculators and tightened the money market. Eighteen banks in the city were penalized for their inability to square their accounts at the Clearing House and a number of black marketeers were arrested.

Overnight, from November 13 to 14, cotton cloth dropped from JMP153,000 to JMP128,000 and kerosene from JMP1,160,000 to JMP960,000. For the past week, prices have been stable and purchasing power has again become normal.

— *BETTY CHANG*

the liberated areas by the People's Liberation Army, the national expenditure had greatly increased. The issue of the Victory Bonds would help reduce the State deficit and benefit everyone.

Finance Minister Po Yi-po said that military and administrative expenditures would absorb 60 percent of the budget, since there would be 9,000,000 people, including army, government and education officials, on the payroll of the State.

Of the budget 25.9 percent would be earmarked for rehabilitating production.

Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government Li Chi-shen said that in spite of the fact that the war is still raging, the military appropriation was only 38.8 percent of the budget.

Chairman Mao Tze-tung, declaring that there were difficulties in the financial situation, added that it would improve year by year.

* * *

Saillant's Closing Address

LOUIS Saillant, General-Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in summing up the work of the trade union conference of Asian and Australasian countries concluded in Peking on December 1, said that the following lessons could already be drawn: "The WFTU, with the whole of the trade union organizations throughout the world, must not underestimate the historic importance of the victories won by the Chinese people over their domestic and foreign oppressors. We must make a correct assessment of the role played by the working class in the creation of the People's Republic of China."

Saillant continued: "This conference enabled us to realize that the trade union movement in the countries of Asia is going to develop differently in certain countries as compared to others.

"In China, Mongolia, in Northern Korea, the trade unions are going to continue their march upwards in the development of their economic and social responsibilities, within a state the leadership of which is now in the hands of the working class, through the establishment of the people's democracies.

"In Vietnam, in Southern Korea, in Indonesia, in Siam, in the Philippines, in Malaya, the trade unions have the possibility of developing their influence among the workers and the whole population in the intensification of the struggle for their national independence, against colonialism and imperialism.

"In India, in Burma, in Ceylon, in Pakistan, in Iran, and in Japan, the democratic trade unions may well have to face a worse situation even than now. Their leaders and active members may have to suffer from the intensification of the terrorist measures taken against them. They should find, in the very development of their fight for the workers' claims, efficient means enabling them to maintain their links with the working masses."

Saillant also made the points that the working class in the Asian countries is not isolated but has many allies, the peasantry, intellectuals and other progressive sections of the population, and that there is a community of interests between the working class of the imperialist countries and the working class of the oppressed countries.

* * *

The British Tradition

MR. Christopher Mayhew, British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, described as "a very dangerous precedent" the raising by the British missionary, the Reverend Michael Scott, of grievances of the native people of Southwest Africa at the United Nations Organization.

In questions in the British House of Commons, Mr. K. Wilkes, Labor, asked why the British representative at Lake Success voted with the South African delegate to exclude the Rev. Michael Scott from making representations to the United Nations about the treatment of certain native tribes in Southwest Africa by the South African Government.

Mr. Wilkes added that since the South African Government had refused to send any reports on "German Southwest Africa" to the United Nations and since no provision existed for referring this kind of matter to any tribunal, how could the United Nations Organization find out what was happening unless some hearing was given to a non-governmental organization or non-governmental individuals?

In reply to the question, Mr. Mayhew, said: "The question is to what extent this is a matter for the Government of South Africa alone and

Chinese Papers Say:

French admittance of KMT remnants into Indo-China will be regarded as an unfriendly act; Russia's stand in UN is correct.

COMMENTING on Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's warning to France and other related countries not to give refuge to KMT remnants, the *Ta Kung Pao* of November 30, 1949 says: "The government of whatever country which happens to harbour the reactionary KMT armed forces shall be held responsible for the act and answerable for all possible consequences.

"This announcement has the effect of making known to the world our irrevocable decision that: 1. The whole of Chinese territory shall be liberated. 2. The reactionary armed forces of the KMT shall be completely exterminated. 3. Wherever the KMT reactionary forces may make their escape, we reserve the right to take appropriate action. 4. The government of whichever country which happens to harbour the KMT bandit forces shall be held strictly responsible and answerable for all possible consequences. Insofar as this announcement is mainly directed against the French Government, it behooves the French Government to think that whole matter over thoroughly and not to be misled.

"As the reactionary Kwangsi bandit band have always refused to wake up to the truth and persisted in being thoroughly reactionary bandits, Pai Chung-hsi accordingly entertained the illusion of seeking help from Indo-China. Now that the Kwangsi bandits are at the end of their tether, it is highly possible that they are preparing to lead their defeated forces to take refuge in Indo-China.

The article goes on to say that the people's revolutionary movement of Indo-China has already succeeded in recovering 90 percent of the total territory of the country and that the French are on the point of pulling out. "It is quite possible at this juncture for the down-and-out Imperialists and the remnant bandits to take pity upon one another and for the desperate French Imperialists to welcome the entry of Pai's bandit remnants into Indo-China so as to bolster their own position there. Should such be the case, then the French Imperialists, in their madness, are veritably digging their own graves.

"We, therefore, serve fair warning to the French Government beforehand," continues the article. "In the event that the French keep a close watch over their national boundary and keep the remnant KMT bandit forces from getting in, all shall be well; but if you choose to intervene in our affairs, then be prepared to face the consequences."

In conclusion the article states: "The above is only one instance; Macao, Burma, and Siam are similarly requested to pay attention to the announcement made by our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai."

United Nations Discussions

The *Giefang Rhbao* on November 30 comments on the United Nations discussions on China and points out that in the United Nations General Assembly Meeting of November 23, Vyshinsky, the Chief of the Soviet Delegation, voiced his support for Foreign Minister Chou's announcement. "When the delegates of the KMT bandits tried to slander the Soviet Union by accusing her before a meeting of the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 25, Vyshinsky forthwith refused to take part in the discussion," states the article, "and at the same time reiterated his support for the righteous stand put forth in the announcement made by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai. The delegation of other friendly nations such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc. all took similar step."

The *Giefang Rhbao* goes on to say that the stand taken by the delegations of the Soviet Union, Poland etc. is not only in accord with "their unwavering foreign policy to safeguard world peace" but also conforms to the internal situation within China "as well as to their practice of giving China all honorable and friendly help."

Chinese Magazines Say:

The Chinese intellectual and politics: Professor Fei Hsiao-tung examines traditional attitudes in the light of economic facts, stresses need for political studies.

NO revolution owes more to its progressive students, teachers and intellectuals than does China's. They are among the world's keenest and most politically enlightened, in theory and practice. In China's long struggle for democracy, no form of physical or moral assault devised by the Kuomintang terrorists succeeded in dislodging them from the revolutionary vanguard, and today they take their place among the new Republic's tried and tested leaders.

But it is not of this spearhead, formed of a small minority, but of the great majority, the typical middle and upper-class intellectual, traditionally a race apart from and "above" politics, that Professor Fei Hsiao-tung writes in the November issue of *Kwan Cha* (Observer), Shanghai. As a teacher of dialectical materialism, the noted writer and sociologist is asked by some of his students: "Why is it necessary to take up a political subject?" This question reveals clearly, the professor comments, that the old notion that the intellectual should "be superior to" politics is still held, and he proceeds to analyze some of its sources.

One reason for this aloofness, he says, was that under the old social environment people came to regard all rulers as "bad eggs" and determined to have as little to do with them as possible. To carry this attitude over to the present situation, however, implies a complete lack of understanding of the revolutionary change by which the new authority has been vested in the people themselves as rulers. "This basic change in the nature of the authority has brought with it a basic change in the fundamental significance of the subject of politics itself," he points out.

But a deeper source of this refusal to be concerned with political realities, Professor Fei finds, lies in the intellectual's class associations, "The intellectuals of China spring from various strata of society. Generally speaking, however, very few of them have come from the ranks of workers and peasants, while the majority have come from the classes of landlords, compradores, petit bourgeoisie," he says. "If we look further and single out those among the intellectuals who are most eager to place themselves above politics, we find that they are those whose living is being adequately taken care of. . . They do not feel the oppression, they do not oppose the reactionary rule. . . . They are not interested in revolution."

Yet, he points out, how many, under the old reactionary rule, could really afford to hold themselves apart from politics? Except for those of the landlord and compradore class, all were subject, in greater or lesser degree to exploitation. And "oppression was a real issue, a problem of livelihood, of life and death." Though oppressed by feudalism and imperialism, they were still afraid of revolution, and this was the reason for their pretended "superiority."

Again there were the intellectuals who claimed they wanted "no official post, did not wish to become involved in politics, did not participate in the revolution, but likewise did not oppose the revolution." They would point out that they lived on their own capabilities and would put their services before any party who could make use of them.

What are these, asks the professor, but a white-collar class? "In the capitalist society, the white collar class are employed by the capitalists. They sell their knowledge. Their income is generally higher than the manual workers. Ideologically they orientate toward individualism. Knowledge is their stock-in-trade. They are workers with their brains, and may be likened to handicraftsmen engaged in small production enterprises in that they are independent and self-sufficient. Moreover, the capitalist society encourages individual rivalry, and these white collar workers lack the appreciation of collectivism.

"But since they are fundamentally employees," he continues, "and with their employment unsecured by collective strength, they can only obey and flatter their employers if they are to be spared the danger of unemployment." Basically they should ally themselves with the working class, but in order to retain slightly superior conditions they sell out to the employers, thus abetting their own exploitation. In this paradoxical position they waver, deceiving themselves that they are "above politics."

"Of course it is an excellent thing to live on one's own talents," the writer goes on. "Each and every worker should do so. This shows that he does not live on the exploitation of another. But in the feudal society and the capitalist society the man who lives on his own talents is the exploited, though the degree of exploitation may vary."

Summing up, Professor Fei Hsiao-tung describes "abhorrence of politics" as "an untruthful attitude, which only reflects the weakness of the thinker . . . who has assuredly failed to take cognizance of the true significance of the present age and of his own position. . . . For the intellectuals today have a duty to perform in this new age, and they can only discharge this obligation after they have fully grasped the significance of the times. To do so they must engage in political studies."

to what extent it is a matter for the United Nations. That whole question, it is now decided, is to be put to the International Court."

Mr. Lipson, Independent: "Would it not have been more in accordance with the British tradition to champion the cause of the weak if the Government had not taken refuge on a technical point?"

Mr. Mayhew: "I am making no comment whatever on the justice or injustice of the case put forward by the Rev. Michael Scott."

* * *

Sino-British Friendship

IN London on December 3 a China-Britain conference opened to pledge support for the People's Republic of China and to urge recognition of the People's Government.

Delegates, mostly members of trade unions, trades councils and the co-operative movement, cheered as the flag of the Chinese People's Republic was unfurled alongside the Union Jack above the speaker's rostrum.

Greetings from Chairman Mao Tze-tung were read by the chairman of the conference, Professor B. Farrington, Professor of Classics at University College, Swansea. Chairman Mao's message read: "My warmest greetings to the convocation of the Britain-China conference. Chinese people welcome all efforts to strengthen friendship between the peoples of China and Britain."

The conference was scheduled to end on December 4 when a resolution calling for recognition of the new China and the displacement of the Kuomintang delegates to the United Nations was to be discussed.

Sponsors of the conference include Lord Lindsay of Birker, Master of Balliol College, Oxford; Lord Boyd Orr, former Director-General of the World Food and Agricultural Organization; and Lord Strabolgi, chief Labor whip in the House of Lords, responsible for Labor Party discipline there.

* * *

New Zealand Election

IN the general election to the New Zealand Parliament on November 30, the Labor Party was defeated by the National Party after 14 years in office.

The final distribution of the 80 Parliamentary seats was as follows:

National Party 46.

Labor Party 34 (including the four seats held by Maori members).

In the last New Zealand Parliament, the Labor Party held 42 seats and the National Party held 38.

The leader of the National Party, Mr. Sidney Holland, who retained his seat in Fendalton, said in an interview: "I want to say at the outset that the close, enduring relationships with Britain and other countries of the Empire will be one of the governing principles to be followed. We hold that the maintenance of a strong, undivided British Empire is of paramount importance."

Mr. Fraser, Prime Minister since 1940, retained his seat with a greatly reduced majority at Brooklyn.

All 16 Communist candidates polled such low margins that they forfeited their deposits. Two Labor Ministers lost their seats and others retained theirs with considerably reduced majorities.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 19)

This is not a new order. The defunct KMT city government had ordered this time and again but everyone always turned a deaf ear to it. Now they understand the new government is for the people and should be obeyed at any cost. These days not a single vehicle appears at night without a lamp.

There are no longer visitors dressed in fancy clothes and riding in cars at scenic places. Most of the sightseers are pedestrians who often sing the new songs in chorus while walking along. On holidays, no matter where you go, the sound of singing is heard. It almost seems as though you are at a concert.

Before the liberation, Hangchow was a rendezvous of vice and by no means deserved the traditional name "Paradise on Earth." Now that Hangchow has had a new birth, it is really on the way to becoming a paradise.

L. T. R.

National Chekiang University
November 28, 1949.

NEWS FROM HUNAN

To The Editor:

Since the liberation of the whole of Hunan, workers of the communications department have done their best to support the military advances. At present 95 percent of the telegraphic communication has been resumed. We can send messages from Changsha to almost all of the southwestern cities of this province. Service to Canton was resumed immediately after its liberation.

More than 95 per cent of the postal service is again functioning. Long distance buses and trains are now available for all kinds of mail. Courier service to the far-off western and southern towns such as Mayang and Yichang, which were recently liberated, are running as usual.

Three large bridges on the Canton-Hankow Railway at Milo, Lukow and Craoling were destroyed by the retreating KMT troops of Pai-Chung-hsi. Two of them have already been repaired while the other is now being reconstructed. It is expected that train service will be available by the end of this month.

Long distance buses and waterways radiating from Changsha and Hengyang have been restored. The freight traffic is heavy and there are crowds of passengers. Hunan is restored to normalcy.

The Russian writer, K. M. Simonov of the Soviet Cultural Delegation came to Changsha from Hankow. Three thousand representatives of various communities braved torrential rains to go to the station and welcome him. When he alighted he shook hands with each of the welcomers. I have never seen such an exciting occasion. Many flowers were presented to him by the Changsha Women's Association. That evening a big welcome meeting was held in his honor. There several military and political leaders spoke highly of the Soviet Union.

The USSR, they said, is China's most faithful friend and teacher, and we should thank her for the timely help rendered to us in the last Sino-Japanese war. When the new government was established in Peking, the USSR was the first to recognize it.

Mr. Simonov replied that the wholehearted welcome was not for him, but for the whole of the Soviet Union. "We are faithful friends not only in the past, but forever," he concluded.

Much moved by this meeting, I felt it was a symbolic handshake between Chairman Mao and Stalin, between Sun Yat-sen and Lenin, between the Chinese people and the Soviet people. These two peoples will be a strong power to protect world peace.

CHANG SHU-CHI

Changsha
November 8, 1949

"DEAD DUCK"

To The Editor:

On the subject of the Review's English Lesson CVII, (Review, November 26, 1949), although not an etymologist even on 'slanguage,' I would say the expression "a dead duck" (slang) as distinguished from "a lame duck" (slang), implies anything that has become nought (0) whilst the latter implies anything defaulted, or, a (financial) defaulter with possibility of recovery, though lame.

The word duck used in the expression "a dead duck" is taken from the old English game of cricket which records in a scoring sheet that a player has made no runs, that is a 'DUCK' (originally Duck's Egg), the zero (0), since there is nothing that resembls more the shape of the cypher (0) than does a duck's egg, rather than a hen's, or any other egg. Hence the expression "a dead duck" meaning absolutely nought (0), or nothing, or zero. Better still the word "dead" stands for absolutely; the word "duck" is short for duck's egg represented by the zero cypher (0), meaning also nought or nothing.

R. K. RAPHAEL

Shanghai
November 28, 1949

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The Review's English Lesson CIX

American Novels

JOHN Dos Passos' "USA" is a powerfully written indictment of American society during the first World War and the post-war period. Written over several years, "USA" is a trilogy of three novels, "The 42nd Parallel," "Nineteen Nineteen," and "The Big Money." It is a great novel of protest, perhaps *the* great naturalistic novel of its time, because of the great power and effectiveness of its style.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case, which ended in the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti despite a storm of protest by progressives that the two Italian anarchists were being hounded to death for their political opinions, undoubtedly did much to shape Dos Passos' conception that there are two USA's, two nations. This idea, that America was divided between the owners and the dispossessed, between those who controlled the police power and the masses, may not seem startling or original; but not before "USA" had it been given such concrete expression in an American novel.

The story opens with the beginning of the twentieth century, and tells of the childhood and school years of the characters, against the background of pre-World War I society. The characters are plunged into the war, and its effect upon them shows the chasm between the two classes, the stupefying impact of the war on the workers, the chance it gives the opportunists to grab money and power, and finally, the great disillusionment when America's professed war aim, to make the world safe for democracy, is found to be a fraud.

After the war, the money-men and politicians grow more powerful, workers are beaten down in a wave of reaction, and America rushes into the cynicism and money-grabbing of the twenties. Some of the workers with social awareness grow cynical and are defeated; Joe Williams, the seaman, after a meaningless, squalid life at sea, is killed in a barroom brawl; Charley Anderson, who goes after the "big money," is successful for a time but is also beaten, and bankrupt, and is killed a railroad crossing. There is no joy, no hope, for anyone in "USA." The Communists meet failure also, when their battle to save Sacco and Vanzetti is lost.

The novel is not a Marxist tract, since, although at the end the Communists are continuing the struggle, the implication is that there is no solution for the ills of society in socialism. "USA" is a presentation, in concrete, natural, and sometimes harrowing terms, of the chasm in American society between the "haves" and the "have nots." It is a protest against this division, but it affirms no solution. If it is argued that the novel's defeatism detracts from its worth, it can be answered that it is valuable for what it is. It is effective as an imaginative picture of American society at a certain period; the reader may quarrel with the picture, or he may agree with it. If he does, it is up to him to discover how truly it represents present-day American society, and what he might do to help correct its evils and injustices.

Joe Williams, the seaman, dumbly enduring his outrageous life, is the most perfect symbol of defeat and futility. A short passage describing his life at sea gives an idea of Dos Passos' style:

> **Twenty-five days at sea on the steamer Argyle, Glasgow, Captain Thompson, loaded with hides, chipping rust, daubing red lead on steel plates that were sizzling hot griddles in the sun, painting the stack from dawn to dark, pitching and rolling in the heavy dirty swell; bedbugs in the bunks in the stinking focastle, slumgullion for grub, with potatoes full of eyes and mouldy beans.**

In this long sentence, many connective words, verbs, etc., are omitted, which makes for a tighter construction and a more effective impact on the reader. (On that trip he was) . . . Argyle, (whose home port was) Glasgow, (whose captain was) Thompson. (The ship was) loaded with hides. (He spent the days) chipping rust . . . dirty swell. (The bunks in the stinking focastle were full of bedbugs. The seamen were given only bad stew for food. The potatoes were old and the beans were mouldy.)

The above passage is more in conformity to the "rules of grammar" than the following, in which Dos Passos expresses his rage and pity over the Sacco-Vanzetti case:

> **they have clubbed us off the streets they are stronger they are rich they hire and fire the politicians the newspapereditors the old judges the small men with reputations the collegepresidents the wardheelers (listen businessmen collegepresidents judges America will not forget her betravers) they hire the men with guns the uniforms the policecars the patrolwagons.**
> **all right you have won you will kill the brave men our friends tonight**
> **America our nation has been beaten by strangers who have turned our language inside out who have taken the clean words our fathers spoke and made them slimy and foul their hired men sit on the judge's bench they sit back with their feet on the tables under the dome of the State House they are ignorant of our beliefs they have the dollars the guns the armed forces the powerplants**
> **they have built the electricchair and hired the executioner to throw the switch**
> **all right we are two nations**

This passage, written without punctuation, capitalization, and with words run together, is a device of style in certain sections of the novel called "The Camera Eye:" however, most of the narrative follows the ordinary rules of punctuation. As an exercise, our readers might like to try to punctuate the passage according to the usual rules. We shall try to answer any questions about it in an early issue.

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